

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-14 OMB-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03

SS-20 USIA-15 DRC-01 SAJ-01 ACDA-19 /136 W

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R 121025Z JUN 74

FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8657

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L NICOSIA 1114

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV CY

SUBJECT: U.S. ROLE IN INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS

REF: STATE 119870, 119965

SUMMARY: IN RESPONSE TO REQUEST FOR THOUGHTS AS TO WHAT
USG SHOULD DO NOW, EMBASSY THINKS WE SHOULD WAIT FOR
WECKMANN, AVOID FORMAL INITIATIVES, WATCH FOR
SIGNS OF REAL INSTABILITY WHICH ONLY PARTLY CORRELATED
TO STATE OF TALKS. SUGGEST WE INFORMALLY URGE PARTIES
MAINTAIN TALKS BY ADDRESSING LESS CONTENTIOUS CONSTITU-
TIONAL ISSUES, GET BRITS ON SAME WAVELENGTH. END SUMMARY

1. STATE 119965 ASKED FOR THOUGHTS AS TO ROLE USG SHOULD
BE PLAYING IN INCREASINGLY GLOOMY INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS
PICTURE. WE HAVE OF COURSE BEEN CONSIDERING SAME
PROBLEM.

2. STALEMATE OF NEGOTIATIONS, IN ITSELF, NEED NOT RPT NOT
CAUSE UNDUE ALARM. OVER PAST SEVEN YEARS, CYPRUS HAS
DEVELOPED MANY ELEMENTS OF STABILITY. (INTERCOMMUNAL SITUA-
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TION REMAINED RELATIVELY STATIC DURING 10-MONTH TALKS STALE-

MATE IN 1971-72.) FUNDAMENTAL NEW QUESTION IS WHETHER NEW DEVELOPMENTS (AEGEAN AND RISING TURK-GREEK TENSIONS, MAKARIOS CONFRONTATION WITH NATIONAL GUARD, UNPREDICTABILITY OF ANKARA AND ESPECIALLY ATHENS CYPRUS POLICY) HAVE BEGUN SIGNIFICANTLY TO ERODE THAT STABILITY. ANSWER IS STILL MOOT.

3. THIS SAID, CONTINUING NEGOTIATIONS PLAY A USEFUL ROLE IN KEEPING CONFRONTATION MUTED AND IN HOLDING DOWN EXTREMIST PRESSURES ON BOTH SIDES FOR A "DYNAMIC" SOLUTION. ON PERSONAL BASIS, WE HAVE BEEN TAKING FOLLOWING LINE WITH THOSE INTERESTED, INCLUDING DENKTASH, CLERIDES, CHRISTOPHIDES AND OSORIO-TAFALL.

(A) VERY FACT TALKS HAVE LASTED SO LONG ATTESTS AWARENESS OF DANGER OF ANY OTHER "SOLUTION", AND TO SHARED INTEREST IN KEEPING SOME NEGOTIATION OPEN AND IN AVOIDING AGGRAVATION OF TENSION WHICH WOULD BE LIKELY TO FOLLOW BREAKDOWN OF ALL EFFORTS AT NEGOTIATED SOLUTION.

(B) IF TALKS APPEAR LIKELY TO REACH GENUINE IMPASSE ON CONTROL OF LOCAL GOVT AND ON SECURITY ISSUES, WOULDN'T IT BE ADVISABLE TO FIND SOME WAY OF KEEPING CHANNEL OF NEGOTIATION OPEN? PERHAPS THE INTERLOCUTORS CAN REVERT TO LESS CONTENTIOUS ISSUES AND SPIN THEM OUT TO KEEP THE TALKS ALIVE. BOTH SIDES HAVE AN INTEREST IN AVOIDING BUILDING ANY NEW BARRIERS AGAINST SOME EVENTUAL COMPROMISE. IF TALKS WERE TO BE TERMINATED, CONSIDERABLE ACT OF WILL WOULD BE REQUIRED FOR EITHER SIDE TO SUGGEST REOPENING. ON OTHER HAND, IF PRO FORMA CHANNEL REMAINS OPEN AND EITHER SIDE WISHES TO REEXAMINE ITS POSITIONS, IT CAN VERY EASILY DO SO SIMPLY BY LEADING TALKS BACK AROUND TO SUBJECTS ON WHICH THEY WERE HUNG UP.

4. ABOVE APPROACH HAS EVOKED SOME INTEREST FROM INTERLOCUTORS, CHRISTOPHIDES AND VENIAMIN, ALL OF WHOM ARE WELL AWARE OF PROBLEMS OF A TOTAL BREAKDOWN.

5. PROBLEM REMAINS HOW TO SELL ABOVE APPROACH TO INTERESTED PARTIES. BELIEVE IT WOULD BE MISTAKE FOR USG TO GET OUT AHEAD. IDEALLY (AND ASSUMING PRESENT LETHARGY OF TALKS
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CONTINUES), NEW UNSYG REP WECKMANN COULD ATTEMPT REDIRECT NEGOTIATIONS SHORTLY AFTER TAKING OVER NEXT MONTH. WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE HIM THIS DIRECTION AND MAKE SUPPORTIVE NOISES HERE AND IN CONCERNED CAPITALS. (HOPEFULLY, IN TANDEM WITH BRITISH, WITH WHOM WE HAVE INFORMALLY DISCUSSED PROBLEM.)

6. SINCE NONE OF THE PRINCIPALS WANTS TO PRECIPITATE

TROUBLE, YET EACH OF THEM IS UNDER PRESSURE FROM POPULAR
DISENCHANTMENT WITH TALKS, THEY MIGHT APPRECIATE ENCOURAGE-
MENT FROM UN REP, UK AND USG WHICH THEY CAN CITE IN DEFENSE
OF CONTINUATION.

7. ONE PROBLEM WITH ABOVE LINE IS THAT IT APPEALS TO GREEKS
MORE THAN TURKS, SINCE LATTER DO NOT RPT NOT REALLY BELIEVE
TIME IS ON THEIR SIDE. THEIR MOOD IS GROWING MORE DESPERATE
AND RESTIVE, ALTHOUGH THEY ARE WELL AWARE OF COST TO THEM
OF COMMUNAL VIOLENCE. AMB. INHAN TOLD ME LAST WEEK THAT TIME
COULD COME WHEN TURKEY COULD NOT KEEP THIS MOOD FROM FLARING
INTO IRRESPONSIBLE BEHAVIOR.

8. WOULD BE HAPPY IF WE COULD OFFER SOME MORE DRAMATIC IDEAS
TO MEET APPROACHING DEADLOCK. AT THIS STAGE, HOWEVER, WE
THINK TWO SIDES' MINIMAL POSITIONS SIMPLY DO NOT OVERLAP,
AND THAT WE WOULD EARN CRITICISM BUT LITTLE ELSE BY TRY-
ING TO FORCE THEM TOGETHER. BOTH SIDES ARE SENSITIVE TO
OTHER NATIONS' VIEWS, HOWEVER, AND BOTH SIDES HAVE OWN
REASONS TO HEED ADVICE TO KEEP SITUATION FROM SETTLING INTO
FIXED CONFRONTATION. DESPITE ALLEGED TURKISH MOOD, THEY
CONTINUE TO ACT VERY PRUDENTLY IN ACTUAL SITUATIONS. AND
WE BELIEVE THERE ARE STRONG ELEMENTS OF STABILITY WHICH WILL
WORK TO PERPETUATE THIS ADMITTEDLY IMPERFECT STATUS QUO.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COMMUNITY RELATIONS, FEDERATION, POLITICAL STABILITY, FOREIGN RELATIONS, INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 12 JUN 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: izenbei0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974NICOSI01114
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740151-0763
From: NICOSIA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740652/aaaabsqz.tel
Line Count: 140
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: STATE 119870, 119965
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: izenbei0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 17 APR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <17 APR 2002 by elyme>; APPROVED <20 FEB 2003 by izenbei0>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: U.S. ROLE IN INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS
TAGS: PGOV, CY, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005